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GLASTONBURY AND THE HOLY GRAIL.

IN Professor Birch-Hirschfeld's notable work on the legend of the Holy Grail, the romance *Perlesvaus* was set down as one of the latest and least original of the entire French Grail cycle.¹ This opinion has since been variously accepted and repeated. That it is, however, in part erroneous was shown by Heinzel² in 1891, and data pointing to a similar conclusion were adduced by the present writer in a recent study on the subject.³ However unoriginal the romance may be, it was certainly composed as early as several of its rivals for fame, and probably it represents the real transition from the purely romantic conception of Crestien de Troyes to the ascetic, ecclesiastical ideal of the writers of the *Quête* and the *Grand St. Graal*. The following material is presented in further support of this view, and more particularly as throwing light on the birth-place of the romance itself.

It was Zarncke⁴ who first pointed out that the *seinte messon de religion* in the *ille d'Avalon* from which the author of the *Perlesvaus* affirms⁵ that he derived the Latin original of his text was probably a religious institution in the town of Glastonbury. The mediæval texts have long since made evident the rather general identification, at least in England, of Glastonbury and Avalon during the twelfth century and thereafter. The interesting passages bearing upon this question and upon the legendary history of Glastonbury have been conclusively discussed by Professor Baist⁶ and M. Lot.⁷ On more than one occasion the former scholar⁸ has expressed the opinion that in the twelfth century

¹ *Die Sage vom Gral* (Leipzig, 1877), chap. 4.

² *Ueber die französischen Gralromane* (Vienna, 1891), p. 176.

³ *The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902.

⁴ Cf. *Paul u. Braunes Beiträge*, Vol. III, p. 317.

⁵ Ed. POTVIN, p. 347.

⁶ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XIX, pp. 326 ff.

⁷ *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 529 ff. Consult also ZARNCKE, *op. cit.*, pp. 317, 329; *Glare*, p. 328, should be identified with *Glais*.

⁸ *L. c.* and *Litteraturblatt*, 1892, p. 160.

Glastonbury witnessed the production of an ecclesiastical Arthur story which was based on the *Perceval* of Crestien, and which brought the latter romance into relation with the local legend of Joseph of Arimathea and his brethern as founders of Glastonbury Abbey. By this story Baist means the *Perlesvaus*, as is evident from his account of the work in question. Furthermore, in a recent private communication he again¹ remarks that a version of this particular Arthur story is preserved in *Johannis Glastoniensis*, whose chronicle was written during the first part of the fifteenth century.² It is my purpose here to set forth the importance of this discovery by adducing several additional facts which bear on this interesting question.

The MS from which William of Malmesbury derived his explanation of the name of Glastonbury dates, according to Lot, from the twelfth century, while the genealogies it adduces are not posterior to the tenth century. One of these genealogies

¹ The fact is also mentioned in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XIX, p. 344.

² Out of deference to Professor Baist's claims of priority, I shall not publish here the passage in question. However, inasmuch as he merely mentions the fact without giving any references, I will state that the passage may be found in HEARNE's edition of *Johannis*, pp. 77 ff. (Oxford, 1726), a copy of which is in the Harvard Library. It amounts practically to an original Latin version of Arthur's visit to the chapel of St. Austin (including the curious dream of the squire) which constitutes the first and principal episode of the *Perlesvaus* (ed. POTVIN, Vol. I, pp. 4 ff.; an outline of this episode may be found in my study of the work, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-5). One important feature, however, of this Latin version should be noted: Arthur meets no damsel at the edge of the wood, and consequently no mention is made of Perceval. Evidently this is the point where the author of *Perlesvaus* fused the Perceval story with the local legend of Arthur's visit to St. Austin's chapel. *Johannis* further reports that Arthur brought back to Glastonbury a crystal cross, *quae, usque in hunc diem, de dono ejusdem regis, in thesauria Glastoniae honorifice collocatur et custoditur* (cf. BAIST, *l. c.*).

There are two passages in *Johannis* which refer directly to the Holy Grail. The more interesting of them runs as follows (p. 55): "Joseph ab Armathia, nobilem decurionem, cum filio suo, Josephes dicto, et aliis pluribus, in majorem Britanniam, quae nunc Anglia dicta est, venisse, et ibidem vitam finisse, testatur liber de gestis incliti regis Arthuri (cf. BAIST, *l. c.*, p. 340—evidently a compilation) in inquisicione scilicet cujusdam illustris militis, dicti Lanceloth de Lac (this may be connected with the tenth 'branch' of the *Perlesvaus*, the leading feature of which is an intrigue against Lancelot) socios rotundae tabulae videlicet, ubi quidam Heremita exponit Walwano misterium cujusdam fontis, saporem et calorem crebro mutantis (cf. similar episode, *Perlesvaus*, p. 73); ubi et scribebatur, quod miraculum illud non terminaretur, donec veniret magnus leo, qui et collum magnis vinculis haberet constrictum. Item in sequentibus, in inquisitione vasis quod ibi vocant *Sanctum Graal*, refertur fere in principio, ubi albus miles exponit Galaat, filio Lancelot, ministerium cujusdam mirabilis scuti, quod eidem deferendum commisit, quod nemo aliis, sine gravi dispendio, ne una quidem die poterat portare" (cf. *Quête*; SKEAT, in his edition of *Joseph of Arimathea*, p. xxi, has identified this part of the passage).

The second passage tells (p. 51) how Philip (*apostolum in Gallias*), wishing to convert Great Britain, sent thither twelve of his followers: "quibus carissimum amicum suum Joseph praedictum, qui Dominum sepelivit una cum filio suo Josephes praefecit. Venerunt

derives the word *Glaston* from a certain *Glast*. *Glast*, which is *Glas* in Irish, meaning "gray," and was frequently used as the name of a man, is thus probably an eponym invented to explain the name of the town. The genealogy makes *Glast* one of twelve brothers, of whom *Glast* is the last-born. The passage in William's chronicle goes on to say that *Glast*, the son of *Cas*, was a swineherd of the king of *Hirnath*, and first came to the place which bears his name in search of one of his pigs which had gone astray. This story supposedly came from Ireland and was transmitted to England proper through Welsh mediums. It is thought that in the original version *Cas* was the son¹ of *Glast*, and that the persons given by William of Malmesbury as *Glast*'s brothers were in reality his descendants, the change being due to the confusion of the word *mac* (= "son") with *map* (= "brother").

Now, whatever the origin of this account may be, the *Perlesvaus* contains a striking analogy to *Glast* and his line in the name given *Perceval*'s paternal grandfather, the father of the well-known *Alain*. According to what is probably the best MS of the *Perlesvaus*, he is called *Glais*,² the other MSS giving the form *Gais*. *Glais*, who is not, I believe, mentioned in any other Grail or Arthurian romance thus far known,³ has twelve sons, the

autem cum eis (ut legitur in libro, qui Sanctum Graal appellatur) sescenti, et amplius, tam viri quam feminae qui omnes vatium voverant, quod ab uxoribus propriis abstinerunt, quousque terram, sibi delegatam, ingressi fuissent. Quod tamen praevaricati sunt omnes, praeter centum quinquaginta qui, iubente Domino, mare super camisiam ipsius Iosephes transeuntes in nocte resurrectionis Dominicae, applicuerunt in mane. Aliis autem poenitentibus, et Iosephe memorato pro eis orante, missa est navis a Domino, quam rex Salomon artificiose suo tempore fabricaverunt, in qua die eadem ad suos socios pervenerunt cum quodam duce Medorum, nomine Vaciano, quem Ioseph prius baptisaverat in civitate Sarraz, cum rege ejusdem civitatis, cui nomen Modrains."

Philip is of course the St. Philip of the *Grand St. Graal* (cf. NUTT, *Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 54); the *Vita Dunstanni* of the tenth century (cf. LOT, *op. cit.*, p. 541) lets Philip and twelve apostles come to England and William of Malmesbury (GALE, *Hist. Britann. Scrip.*, Vol. I, p. 292) mentions Joseph and twelve others sent by Philip.

In the second Interpolation of Pseudo-Gautier (cf. HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, p. 189) Joseph and his friends come to England in a rudderless ship (cf. *Perceval*'s ship in *Perlesvaus*, p. 327). The passage in the ship was later changed to one on Joseph's shirt (cf. *Grand St. Graal*). Here we have a combination of the two notions. Solomon's ship occurs also in the *Quête* (NUTT, p. 49) and the *Grand St. Graal* (NUTT, p. 59). The story of Sarraz and Modrains is found in the *Quête*, the *Grand St. Graal* and in Manessier portion of the *Perceval* (NUTT, pp. 19 ff.). *Vaciano* is probably Vespasian.

¹ Instead of being his father, as above.

² Berne MS.

³ *Glais*, however, is used in French for the place name; cf. the *Grand St. Graal*, which says that Joseph is buried in the "abbey of Glais" in Scotland. The English *Joseph of Arimathea* makes the statement that Joseph was buried there, and that the place is now known as "Glastynberg."

youngest of whom is Alain. I therefore venture to uphold Baist's suggestion that the *Perlesvaus* originated in Glastonbury or thereabout, and to suggest further that its author chose the current eponym of the place to fill out his genealogy of the Grail family. As to the twelve sons of Glais, they have also a parallel in the twelve male children of Brons and Enygeus in Robert's *Joseph*.¹ There, however, Alain is at first vowed to chastity and finally marries only in order to beget Perceval—incidents, it seems, which would have appealed strongly to our author's mystic temperament, had he been acquainted with them. A further point indicating this independent strain (from Robert) is the fact that our author evidently still considered the Fisher-King's mother as Joseph's sister, that is, Veronica, *mulier Veronica*—possibly *domina Veronica*—the influence of which name is very likely to be seen in that of *Danbran(n)*, *Dindrane*,² given in our romance to Perceval's sister. As to *Glais*, *Yglais*, the name of Perceval's mother is either directly modeled on it, or else *Enygeus*—the mother of Perceval according to Robert and the Grand St. Graal—has here been altered to agree with it. The form *Ygloas*, the variant at times used in the Brussels MS of our romance, is an attempt again to differentiate the two names. Thus we have the entire Grail pedigree of the *Perlesvaus* explained with the exception of certain of Alain's brothers. Four of the latter have been previously identified,³ and a fifth, Bertholez *li chaus*, is, in all probability, the Bertolais mentioned in the *Livre d'Artus*,⁴ a knight of Leodegan's court.

In our romance Joseph of Arimathea generally goes under the name of *Joseph d'Abarimacie*, a form which is evidently taken directly from the Latin. This form occurs elsewhere only in the prose paraphrase of Robert's *Joseph*. Robert himself gives *Joseph de Berimathie*, which is further removed from the Latin. *Abarimacie* (or *Abarmacie*) is doubtless a mistaken reading of *ab Ar(i)mathia*. Now, the Glastonbury documents refer to Joseph

¹ Cf. "Livre d'Artus" (*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XVII), where Perceval has eleven brothers.

² HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, p. 94. *Veronica* > *Bron(e)* in French and was confused with the Celtic *Bran*. *Dame Brane* would have given *Danbran(e)*.

³ Cf. my study, p. 110.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XVII.

always as *Joseph ab Arimathia* or *Armathia*.¹ But beyond the mention of Joseph in connection with the crucifixion, which I have shown to be referable to Robert de Borron,² the account of him in our romance is meager. As our author gives him the title of "Fisher-King" (*roi peschierres*),³ he probably thought of him as being at one time of his career at the Grail Castle in Wales. It seems certain, too, that Joseph is the knight whom Perceval finds reposing in the *ille plentureuse* ("Earthly Paradise"), as Heinzel has suggested.⁴ The *Josephus* whose body is found in a tomb near the Grail Castle is possibly his son Josephe, whom the later Glastonbury legend associates with his father in the conversion of England and the founding of the Lady Chapel in Glastonbury.⁵ In line with this incident of Joseph's life is the fact that our author constantly refers to a special Grail "chapel," which is said to be dedicated to the Virgin and in which the relics of Calvary are claimed to be kept, including the Holy Grail⁶ itself.

The rôle of Josephus, however, is of relatively greater importance in our work than that of Joseph. It is Josephus⁷ to whom we owe the tale; he wrote it down at the dictation of an angel; he vouches for the truth of the adventures related; he knows of others which are not told here; he was the first person to celebrate the holy sacrament (p. 113); he explains to Gawain the allegory of his adventures, and he is known as *le bon clerc* and *le bon hermite*. Twice the text calls him simply *Joseph*, and twice he is called *Josephe(s)*; but these variants may be scribal blunders. Nevertheless, it is now generally supposed⁸ that the confusion of the two Josephs—Joseph of Arimathea and Josephus Flavius, the Jewish historian—gave rise to the legend of Joseph and his son Josephe mentioned above, which is also preserved in the *Quête* and the *Grand St. Graal*. M. Lot goes so far⁹ even as to suggest

¹ JOHANNIS GLASTONIENSIS, p. 55.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

³ P. 340.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 17; cf. also the remarks about Perceval's shield, *Perlesvaus*, p. 328.

⁵ JOHANNIS, p. 51; see note above. Also Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, in SKEAT'S *Joseph*, pp. 68, 69, 70.

⁶ In this connection it is noteworthy that over the entrance to the Grail Castle, Gawain sees statues of the Virgin and of St. John (*Perlesvaus*, p. 83). This conception of the Grail as a relic is primitive.

⁷ *Perlesvaus*, pp. 7, 79, 107, 113, 215, 305, 314, 318.

⁸ HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁹ *L. c.*, p. 541.

that the name of Joseph of Arimathea crept into the *Antiquitates Glastoniensis* through a mistaken reading of Flavius Josephus mentioned by the chronicler Freculf¹ (on whom the *Antiquitates* drew) as the authority for his own work. In the *Perlesvaus* the two personages are still kept distinct by the surname *clers*, the "learned," given to Josephus, but, on the other hand, the latter is brought spiritually near to Joseph through the story of his having celebrated the first mass. Hence we may suppose that the change from Josephus to Josephe, though set on foot by our author, was not accomplished by him, since, like Robert de Borron, he never speaks of Joseph's "son." This last step—from Josephe to Joseph's son—was not taken until the appearance of the later Grail works, whence the idea was probably carried into the Glastonbury records of a more recent date.²

Another of the moot questions bound up with the Grail problem is the relationship of King Pelles and his line to the Grail dynasty. The *Quête* gives no less than three different accounts of this relationship, corresponding in all probability to three distinct versions of the work. In the earliest, a Welsh translation of a now lost French original, King Pelles is the grandfather of the Grail hero through the marriage of his daughter with Lancelot. In the second, Furnivall's edition, he is mentioned at first as Galahad's grandfather, but afterward as his uncle; he is also here the "Lame King," and lives at Corbenic when Lancelot comes there. A third version, that summarized by Birch-Hirschfeld, again makes him the grandfather of Galahad, but identifies Corbenic, his abode, with the Grail Castle. Compared with the *Quête*, the *Grand St. Graal* relegates Pelles to a relatively inferior position. In accordance with this, Alain leaves the Grail to his brother Josue, with the title of "Fisher-King," and the latter's descendants are Aminadap, Catheloys, Manaal, Lambor, Pelleams (the "Lame King"), and finally Pelles, by whose daughter Lancelot has Galahad. Finally our romance gives what appeals to me as the earliest and least altered account of Pelles and Josue, although the commentators, including Heinzel, have for some unknown

¹ Vol. II, chap. 4 (cf. MIGNE, Vol. CVI, pp. 1140 ff.).

² Cf. note above; *Johannis* mentions the *Quête*.

reason left it out of consideration. Here Pelles is the brother of Yglais, consequently the uncle of Perceval and the brother of the Fisher-King; he is a hermit and lives in the forest. This is an evident imitation of Crestien, who, to be sure, does not call by name either of Perceval's uncles, but makes them brothers of his mother (whose name is also omitted), the one being the Fisher-King, and the other a hermit. According to our romance, however, Pelles was originally the king of the "Low Folk" (*la basse gente*), a position which he resigned for the cowl when his son committed matricide. The castle in which he reigned, and which has been on fire ever since the dreadful crime, Perceval passes in a ship on his return from the Earthly Paradise. Later on in the *Perlesvaus* the "Hermit King," as Pelles is then called, becomes the ruler of the Plenteous Isle, whence he is finally advanced to a "higher realm," because of his good conduct. When Gawain first meets him in the forest, he is already a hermit in the service of the Holy Grail, wherefore he seems never to grow old, for "the place in which it is kept is very mild;" Perceval, too, has recently been stopping at his hermitage.¹ At this meeting Pelles informs Gawain that Uther Pendragon, Arthur's father, had knighted him and that he bore arms two-score years before turning hermit. This warlike quality is inherited by his son, who, although a priest, assists Perceval in his final assault on the Grail Castle over the nine bridges. When the castle is taken, the latter takes up his abode there with Perceval. It is thus evident that the son's name (Joshua) originated in his double rôle of priest and warrior on which the romance lays such stress. The name, once brought into connection with the Grail, persisted in the legend long after the incidents which had suggested it had been dropped. Thus it comes in the *Grand St. Graal* to be a meaningless link in the necessarily long genealogy of the Grail family.

But how did Pelles, king of the Low Folk, become identified with Perceval's hermit uncle? Or were the two originally one, and did Crestien merely suppress the name Pelles in order to reveal it at the close of his work, which was never completed? To

¹ Cf. my study, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.

these questions we shall probably never receive a satisfactory answer. But, at all events, the name Pelles appears to be of Welsh derivation. Rhys connects it with Pwyll of the Mabinogi¹ of that name. Heinzl did not give much credence to this suggestion; nevertheless, in the light of the above facts it has much to recommend it beyond the mere similarity of names. The Mabinogion² relate how Pwyll, being a great hunter and woodsman, one day became separated from his companions and met Arawn, king of Hades, with whom he agreed to exchange kingdoms for a year. Ever afterward, the story runs, the title of "Head of Hades" clung to him. A name linked with his is that of Teyrnnon Twrf-vliant, who is one of his vassals. The epithet "Twrf-vliant," according to Rhys, reappears in Malory³ as the Castle of Blyaunt—and this abode it was that Pelles gave Lancelot to inhabit with his daughter Elayne in the Joyous Isle. Pwyll, too, had a fairy wife called Rhianon. She finally gives birth to a son, who is, however, snatched away by unseen hands on the night he is born. For years the mother is made to suffer on account of his disappearance, until one day he returns a full-grown lad and establishes her innocence. His name is Pryderi, meaning "anxiety." It is not difficult to detect the vestiges of such a tale in the incidents of the career of Pelles given above. Pelles spends his days in the Lonely Forest and at the Grail Castle, where "one never grows old;" he was once king of the Low Folk (Hades), but has now grown perfect and comes to rule over a higher realm—all of which is an evident attempt to redeem the character; his son is very bold and warlike, and in a fit of anger has slain his own mother, for whose death he does penance—a change possibly due to a confusion of the characters of mother and son. Further, as Rhys notes, Pelles, like Pwyll, is concerned in the Enchantments of Britain which are a favorite theme of Welsh tradition.⁴ Hence we may say our author fused with his recollection of Crestien's hermit-uncle scattered elements of a story resembling the Welsh legend of Pwyll and Pryderi.

¹ *Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 283.

² Translation by LADY CHARLOTTE GUEST (London, 1877), pp. 339 ff.

³ Vol. XII, pp. 5, 6.

⁴ RHYS, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

Another feature of the romance which points to a Welsh source is found in the name *Pannenoisance*. Aside from the places Arthur visits on his various expeditions, his residences, according to our author, number three: Carduel, Camaalot, and Pannenoisance.¹ The second may be omitted from the discussion, since the author refers to it only incidentally as mentioned "in other works;" perhaps even it was interpolated into the text by the French translator or by a late scribe. Inasmuch as Carduel is the site of the Arthurian court in Crestien (*Perceval*), the last place alone remains to be identified. Apparently this is peculiar to our romance, not being found in any other Arthurian or Grail work with which I am acquainted. The Welsh text² gives the name as *Penneis(s)ence*. It cannot be Penvro (Pembroke) or Penrith, as neither of these would satisfy the etymology. Moreover, the author says it is situated on the Sea of Wales, and Penrith lies far inland in Cumberland. However, its supposed location on the sea suggests that it is Penzance,³ near Land's End in Cornwall. With this name it also agrees in form: the additional syllable in Penneisence being a sort of glide, such as in Penevric (= Penvro), which eventually became *ei*, finally *oi* in this particular form. That the original was probably not recognized in *Penneisence* is shown by the reproduction of the French form by the Welsh translator of the fourteenth century.

The last point I wish to consider before a final summing up is our author's account of Avalon itself: in what respects does it correspond to the real Glastonbury of the close of the twelfth century? The romance says that the house in which the Latin text was found *siet au chief des mores aventureuses la ou li roi Artus et la roine Guenievre gissent* (p. 347). This description agrees strikingly with the story vouched for in 1191 by Henry II, the Angevin lord of England, that the tombs of Arthur and his queen could actually be seen in Glastonbury, and Glastonbury was known to be in a marshy country. When Lancelot comes to the *leus d'Avalon* (probably for *illes d'A.*), he finds it situated in a

¹ Tintagel is also visited by Arthur; for our author's account of it consult DICKINSON, *King Arthur in Cornwall* (London, 1900), p. 60, note.

² Cf. WILLIAMS, *Y Seiat Greal* (London, 1876), p. 560.

³ I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Henry Todd.

valley in the midst of deep forests (p. 262); the chapel there, which is dedicated to the Virgin, had recently been renovated at the request of Guenevere, who had died before Lancelot's arrival; Lot(h), Arthur's son, is also buried in this chapel (p. 222). Here again we have a substantial agreement with the twelfth-century account of Glastonbury, inasmuch as we saw above that Joseph was reputed to have founded there the principal chapel in honor of the Virgin. According to another record,¹ concerning Joseph's burial in Glastonbury, the latter's tomb contained two vessels filled with some of the blood and sweat of the Savior (*cruore prophete Jhesu et sudore perimpleta*). In the light of this fact, it is, perhaps, no mere accident that, besides the blood in the Grail, the author of *Perlesvaus* places some of our Lord's blood and a piece of his shroud in the boss of Perceval's shield, which he claims was put there by Joseph of Arimathea, to whom the shield originally belonged.

We now see the important part played by Glastonbury and its traditions in the transformation of the French Grail episode into the mystical English church allegory we have in the *Perlesvaus*. The Grail, according to Crestien a popular talisman such as the German *Tischlein-deck'-dich*, as yet but vaguely associated with the tragedy of Calvary, became in the hands of the unknown Glastonbury zealot the expression of the British religious ideal with its strong leaning to abstraction and mysticism. This national characteristic is at once set forth in the initial episode of the work, in Arthur's ride to St. Austin's chapel, and it later finds an echo in the romances of the *Quête* and *Grand St. Graal*, the author of the latter of which tacitly claims that his work—due to Christ himself—is superior to the gospels. The same feature is to be seen in other incidents of the story. Arthur beholds two suns in the sky symbolizing the union of church and state;² he also introduces into Britain the use of the chalice during mass, after having seen the first chalice at the Grail Castle, where he beheld at the same time the first church bells, brought thither from the Land of Promise by three "Gregories" in honor of the holy Trinity.³

¹ Cf. HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

² *Perlesvaus*, p. 218.

³ *Id.*, p. 250.

History tells us that Glastonbury, made famous in the tenth century by its Irish ecclesiastics, was a century later reduced to dire straits through the opposition of the Norman see of Canterbury. To maintain its independence, the abbey was forced to fabricate various charters and diplomas which were given out as authentic, and a goodly number of which survive to this day in William of Malmesbury. Furthermore, it set up the claim that St. Patrick had been a visitor to its shrines, and that other Irish saints had come thither to sojourn. Toward the beginning of the twelfth century the monks began to link Welsh names to the history of the place. Those of Gildas, the Welsh historian, and David, the great saint, were used to heighten the abbey's fame and increase its revenues.¹ And finally Arthur, such as he lived in Welsh legend surrounded by Kay, Lucan, and Urien, appears in the local records, and his grave is pointed out in the churchyard of the abbey. What wonder, then, that Henry II, to whom Canterbury must have been a thorn in the flesh since his tragic experience with Becket, should have lent his support to whatever claims the monks of Glastonbury chose to put forth. And further, it should not surprise us that some pious monk saw in the popular Grail theme the means of strengthening these claims by welding it to the local Arthur legend and imputing the completed tale to an imaginary work inspired by Heaven and said to be among the books of the abbey.

That the *Perlesvaus* is thus in its original Latin form (now lost) the immediate successor of Crestien's *Perceval* can, I think, no longer be denied. The *Didot-Perceval*, the *Grand St. Graal*, and the *Quête* are assuredly not its literary antecedents. The episodes which it has in common with Gautier and Pseudo-Gautier were possibly added to it at a later date, as a number of other features doubtless were. As for Robert's *Joseph*, the agreements here may be due to the fact that, as Baist affirms, Robert himself wrote the account of the so-called "Early History" as given in our romance.²

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¹Cf. Lot, *l. c.*

²Baist makes this statement in a private communication. The relationship of the *Perlesvaus* and the original *Joseph* of Robert I shall consider in a separate article.